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thus brought on by the ambition of rulers affected me as even our own Civil War had not. Seeking in my mind a counteracting force which might avail to protect society from such wanton acts of devastation, I bethought me of the sacred right vested in the women of civilized communities to keep the bond of Peace and to protect the lives bought by their bitter pain, and fashioned by their endless labor. Impelled by this thought, I made a sudden and considerable effort to arouse my sex all the world over to some sense of their responsibilities in this regard. I endeavored to institute a combined action among the mothers of men to promote in every possible way the just and peaceable settlement of all questions which are likely to arise between nations. Alas! the time for this has not yet come. Organized action among women scarcely existed.

Even so sincere a philanthropist as my husband would quote to me this saying: "Slaughter is God's daughter."

My cry came back to me with but the faintest echo. Nearly thirty years have passed since then, and during that time some of the prophecies foreboding the termination of war have approached fulfilment. One of these was that the methods and implements of warfare would become so deadly that men would no longer encounter them.

Not quite in this wise, but on economic grounds, the burthens of war have ceased to commend themselves either to rulers or to nations. The unproductive legions, eating up the earnings of the community perpetually mustered and drilled in view of a result from which every government shrinks are now felt to be superfluous. They must be maintained at high cost, in the enjoyment of every condition essential to bodily well-being while their wages and cost of keep are wrung from the peasants' wage, the widows' pittance, the merchants' gain. When they are not in active service they bring with them the threat of bankruptcy. When they take the field, all the powers of destruction are let loose, to prey upon commerce, civil government and the sacred immunities of family life.

The shadow moves forward on the dial of history, and now one, foremost among the rulers of the civilized world, cries out that the burthen of armed Peace is becoming intolerable. To the sovereigns, his fellows, he says; "Let us, with one accord, lift it from our shoulders." These brave words, from a crowned autocrat, have astonished the world.

We women who meet here to-day are gathered together to utter our response: "Yes," we answer, "the burthen of these huge armaments is intolerable—we have long felt it to be such." We women do not stand to-day as we did thirty years ago. A new revelation has come to us, the gospel, not of our weakness, but of our strength. We have found each other out. We have learned the power that lies in union, and we feel ourselves able to confront the Angels of Desolation, and to turn them back from their direful work. The more excellent way has appeared to us trodden by martyrs of old, by missionaries of our own time, illuminated by the torch-light of ancient prophecies, glorified by the star-light of Christian hope. In one hand we grasp the roll of Isaiah—in the other, the silver shield of Paul. The one has foretold the days in which nations shall cease to learn the art of warfare and shall convert their weapons into tools of agriculture. The other sets

before us the figure of that most excellent spirit of Charity, and bids us overcome evil with good, and violence with justice.

As the political horizon widens before us, revealing features unknown before, how fortunate is it that human intelligence widens also, and that the agencies which promote the well being of society constantly display new resources and unfold new benefactions.

A great word spoken among men is a great gift from God. Even if, like my feeble cry of thirty years since, it should remain without an answer, I hold the Czar's Peace Manifesto to be one of the foremost gifts of the present century, fit to rank with the feats of Garibaldi and the sacrifice of John Brown.

The greater accord of human intelligence, of which I spoke just now, points the way to an agreement hitherto unknown between the different domains of Christendom. Here, philosophy and religion stand side by side. Kant, the greatest modern philosopher, arrived before his death at the conclusion that universal peace was as possible as it must ever be desirable. And in the various sects which constitute the great world-church the cruel hatred of barbaric times has given place to a recognition of brotherhood which will grow clearer with every coming year.

Ours be it, as women, lovers of peace and guardians of the home, to cherish the sacred flame of goodwill which should consume the thorns that afflict society. The moment of these beautiful enthusiasms passes, but each one is bound to leave its record in the consciousness of mankind. Each one carries our race a step forward in its true progress.

Let Us Demand the Uttermost.

BY MARY A. LIVERMORE.

The appointed time draws near for the convening of the International Conference, called by Nicholas II. of Russia, to discuss the possibility of placing a check on the increasing armament of nations. The American people have paid little attention to the notable manifesto of the Czar. The danger of our short war with Spain still sounds in our ears, and the suddenly evoked war spirit has hardly died out in our breasts. Moreover, we have never needed a large standing army, or a mighty navy, and know nothing of the burden of maintaining an armed peace, with the enginery of war continually changing, as science, invention and skill evolve that which is more deadly and destructive.

Across the water it has been otherwise. The nations of Europe have waited long and wearily for a lessening of the monstrous militarism prevailing there, which "the people have more and more difficulty in bearing." The heavy war taxes push them to the uttermost verge of poverty, they find it more and more difficult to obtain even poor and insufficient food, are weakened bodily and robbed of education, and are thus stunted physically, morally and mentally. So many men are withdrawn from productive industries to increase the army, that women are forced into employments unsuited to them. They become de-womanized, and sometimes de-humanized, and are ruined for motherhood and home-making.

The Czar's manifesto has been received with profound interest by the people of Europe. Organizations have been formed in Berlin and Munich to awaken public sentiment in its favor, and there is similar activity in other

cities of Germany. Austria is moving systematically in endorsement of the Conference, and the same may be said of Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Everywhere there is an intense desire for the complete success of the "Peace Conference", that the "crushing burdens" of the people may be lifted, and their gloomy prospects brightened.

In England, which we are accustomed to regard as one of the most warlike nations of the world, there is hearty sympathy with the proposed Conference. The movement in its favor has taken on immense magnitude. A paper was started months ago in the interest of the Peace Crusade, which has been circulated to the extent of millions of copies. A friend writes me from Wales, "We have sown England ankle-deep with peace literature." In a single day, one hundred thousand dollars were subscribed toward the advancement of the Peace Crusade. The great heart of the world has throbbed responsively to the Czar's manifesto, and public sentiment is increasing in its favor.

There are not a few who cavil at all this, and scout the idea that the Czar has any sincerity in his proposition. They are hopeless of any good results from this Conference, because they are confident that Nicholas II. has only sinister purposes in issuing his manifesto, and they advise the people of the United States to stand aloof from the proposed Conference at The Hague. They ask us to explain the absorption of Finland by the present Czar, in utter disregard of the solemn guarantees given by his predecessors that the Finns should be protected in their liberties, their religion and the freedom of the press. And they warn us that Nicholas II., who has Russianized Finland, as his predecessors did Poland, will proceed eventually to accomplish the complete extinction of Norway and Sweden in the same way.

The present Czar is not responsible for the Russianizing of Finland, which became a part of the Russian Empire in 1809, by the peace of Frederiksham, and was thus severed from Sweden. The Finns were guaranteed large political liberty by the Czar Alexander. But these have been gradually curtailed by the Russian government, whose business is carried on by a Bureaucracy, in departments, each under the control of a chief, where many things are done of which the Czar is ignorant, and for which he is not responsible. It is very different from a system of government in which the officers have a co-ordinate authority. And the present Czar has only completed a work which was planned and begun long before he ascended the throne, and which he could have stayed only by a wide departure from the system of government prevailing in Russia.

The Czar is also blamed for the compulsory emigration of the Doukhobors, a Russian sect resembling in some particulars the Quakers who are fleeing to Manitoba to escape the persecutions to which they were subjected, because they would not join the Greek church, or perform military service. Four thousand have already arrived in Canada, and some six thousand more are expected—a noble, simple, and highly moral and religious people. In any other country of Europe, except England, the Doukhobors would have been forced into the army, at any cost, and could not have escaped it. And it is to the credit of the Czar that these unmilitary people were allowed to emigrate, and to choose

expatriation rather than service in the Russian army.

There is very little doubt that the Czar is actuated by the highest considerations in calling a Peace Conference, and he is right in his assertion that "international discussion is the most effectual means of insuring all peoples' benefit,—a real and durable peace." Mr. Wm. T. Stead, who has had a personal interview with the Czar, and has written a resumé of the same for the *Review of Reviews*, leaves no room for doubt of the young ruler's honesty. And Mr. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, late United States Ambassador to Russia, assures us that the Czar is perfectly sincere in his peace program.

"But," somebody asks, "what would you do with four million soldiers that know nothing but how to fight?" Softly! We shall not disband them all at once. When we see that one or two millions are to be disbanded, we will begin to think about it. I have been through that scare. In 1865, when a million trained soldiers in this country were mustered out, not only our own papers but the papers of Europe were full of alarm. What was going to become of these soldiers? The country would be full of murder and rapine! And although I had been among soldiers all through the war, I, too, worried a little about it. But we never had any trouble. I think we need not worry about that now.

But suppose the Czar is not sincere? That he is only proposing a reduction of the armaments of the world to gain time for the realization of his own selfish purposes? It does not interfere in the least with our duty in this matter. It does not absolve us from our obligations, as Christian women, to seize upon the opportunity presented to take a decided stand for universal peace. When Daniel O'Connell assumed the leadership of the Irish movement which sought the betterment of impoverished and oppressed Ireland, he was advised "not to ask too much of the English Parliament. Secure a little here, and a little there, and gradually you will gain all." "No!" said O'Connell, "I shall do no such thing. Demand the uttermost, and you will get something!" Let us come to the same decision. We must demand the uttermost! And that is disarmament, universal peace, and the establishment of a permanent international tribunal, which shall be to the nations what the Supreme Court is to the United States.

Do not be afraid to demand so large and grand a thing, for it is as surely coming up the steeps of time, as the sun of to-morrow will follow the darkness of to-night. It is reasonable, it is possible, it is the behest of Christianity. Our great captain of the Civil War, General Grant said, "I never knew of a national dispute that might not have been settled without resort to the sword." If the young Autocrat of all the Russias, who rules one hundred and twenty millions of people, among whom are one hundred and twelve different nationalities, many of them of the most primitive type, differing in race, traits, language, customs, and religion,—if he dares take the initiative toward a world's peace, shall any of us hesitate to follow?

"Oh, lay your firm foundations in the skies,
And then build upward! Who can tell
How high the glory of the house shall rise?
Or in what golden chambers ye shall dwell?"

"He that hath friends must show himself friendly."